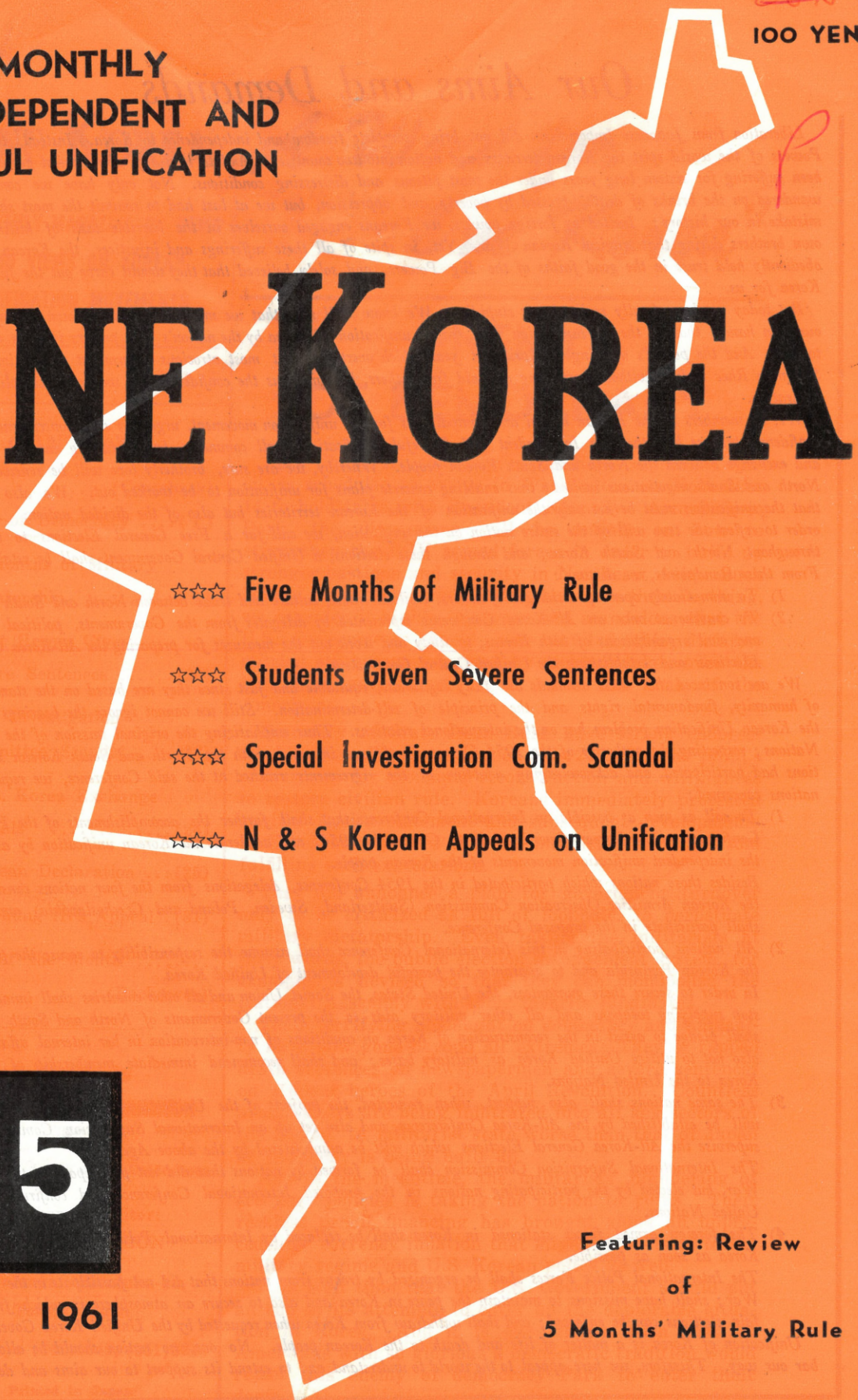
100 YEN

A MONTHLY
FOR INDEPENDENT AND
PEACEFUL UNIFICATION

ONE KOREA



☆☆☆ Five Months of Military Rule

☆☆☆ Students Given Severe Sentences

☆☆☆ Special Investigation Com. Scandal

☆☆☆ N & S Korean Appeals on Unification

NO. 5

NOV. 1, 1961

Featuring: Review
of
5 Months' Military Rule

Our Aims and Demands

Liberation from Japanese Imperialism did not bring complete freedom and independence to Korea. Instead, the Big Powers of the world split the Korean territory and nation into two countries. And to this day, the Korean people have been suffering for sixteen long years under the most piteous and distressing conditions. Not only have we constantly wandered on the brinks of death, pressed by poverty and oppression, but we at last had to commit the most shameful mistake in our history: Incited by foreign powers, we Koreans engaged ourselves in the horrible task of killing our own brothers during that tragical Korean War. Yet, in spite of all these sufferings and injustices, the Korean people obediently held trust in the good faiths of the Big Powers, and solely believed that they would carve out the future of Korea for us.

But today we have finally realized our stupidity. We know well now that we must carve out our own destiny with our own hands, that is, the Korean nation must realize unification of Korea by the nation's own powers if it is willing to live. And the people's uprising in April last year which overthrew that most atrocious government of all times, the Syngman Rhee regime, without borrowing any aid from others, has given us the confidence that we can accomplish this aspiration.

We, as members of the Korean nation and campaigners for the unification movement, urged by such consciousness and confidence, propose here that our Independent and Peaceful Unification shall commence by conducting mutual contact and exchange between the North and South Korean people. Whereby, we are sure, brotherly love will be renewed and North and South negotiations invited; thus enabling concrete plans for unification to be worked out. We also believe that the unification must be not only the unification of the Korean territories but also of the divided nation. And in order to reflect the true will of the entire nation on the unification, we call for a Free General Elections to be held throughout North and South Korea; and through these elections, a Unified Central Government shall be established. From these standpoints, we demand:

1) *To immediately open up exchanges of letters, civilian travel, culture and trade between North and South Korea.*
2) *To convene at once an All-Korea Conference represented by delegates from the Governments, political parties and civil organizations of both Koreas, to study and work out the measures for preparing the All-Korea General Elections and establishing the Unified Central Government.*

We are convinced that these demands are fully legitimate, equitable and just since they are based on the standpoints of humanity, fundamental rights and the principle of self-determination. Still we cannot ignore the bearings which the Korean Unification problem has on the international relations. Thus emphasizing the original mission of the United Nations; respecting the authority of the 1954 Geneva Conference in which both the North and South Korean Delegations had participated, and acknowledging adoption of the Agreements reached at the said Conference, we request the nations concerned:

1) *To call as soon as possible an International Conference that shall further the accomplishments of the Political Conference on the Korean Question held at Geneva in 1954, and accelerate the Korean unification by assisting the independent unification movements of the Korean people.*
   Besides those nations which participated in the 1954 Conference, delegations from the four nations constituting the Korean Armistice Observation Commission (Switzerland, Sweden, Poland and Czechoslavakia) and India shall participate in the proposed Conference.
2) *All nations participating in this International Conference shall assume the responsibility to secure the peace in the Korean Peninsula and to guarantee the peaceful development of Unified Korea.*
   In order to secure these guarantees, the United States, the Soviet Union and all other countries shall immediately stop supplying weapons and all other military aids to the present Governments of North and South Korea; shall pledge to assist in the reconstruction of Korea on conditions of non-intervention in her internal affairs and also not to utilize Unified Korea as military bases; and shall recommend immediate membership of Unified Korea to the United Nations.
3) *The same nations shall also support, when requested, the projects of the Unification Projects Agency which will be established by tne All-Korea Confererecce, and also set up an International Supervision Commission to supervise the All-Korea General Elections which will be administered by the above Agency.*
   The International Supervision Commission shall be formed by nations that did not participate in the Korean War, but elected by the participating nations in the proposed International Conference and confirmed by the United Nations.
4) *The foreign armed forces stationed in Korea shall be replaced by International Police Forces ana evacuate Korea as soon as possible.*
   The International Police Forces shall be organized by troops from nations that did not participate in the Korean War; shall have missions to maintain the peace in Korea and also to secure an atmosphere in which free and fair elections can be enforced; and shall withdraw from Korea when requested by the Unified Korea Government.

Unification of Korea is a matter of life and death to the Korean people. No one, no nation should be allowed to bar our way. Therefore, we here appeal to the world to understand and to extend its support to our aims and demands.

ONE KOREA

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE OF NEWS AND VIEWS ON KOREAN UNIFICATION MOVEMENTS

Nov. 1, 1961 Vol. 5

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Published Monthly by

TONG-IL CHOSEON SHINMOON INC.

(Newspaper for Korean Unification)

Publisher & Editor:
YEE YOUNG KEUN

1-1 Yotsuya, Shinjuku-ku, Tokyo, Japan

Tel. Tokyo (341)5849, (351)8213

Printed in Japan

A Word for "One Korea"

ENEMY OF DEMOCRACY

Park Chung Hi, chairman of the ROK Supreme Council, is scheduled to arrive in Washington on November 14 to hold talks with President Kennedy. According to Park, the discussions will be mainly on how to strengthen the ROK armed forces in order to build up stronger bastions and security in Northeast Asia. Such is very alarming to world peace, but more than anything, we consider it highly improper and scandalous that the U.S. Government should have invited this dictator-minded strongman who had by violence taken over the legitimate government right under the nose of the Americans.

Secretary of State Dean Rusk gave strong endorsement to the military regime on July 27 citing the junta's enthusiasm for economic reconstruction and willingness to restore civilian rule. Koreans immediately protested against Rusk's statement and subsequent developments in Korea have proved that the militarists are far from fulfilling such expectations.

They did announce a plan for government turnover only to be criticized as full of loopholes to perpetuate military dictatorship. Even taking the militarists at their words, the public election management system, for example, is devised so that they can monopolize the National Assembly with their favorite candidates.

Their terrifying onslaught on democracy and humanity have now gone beyond all extremes: They've rapped death sentences on newspapermen and severe sentences on student heroes of the April Revolution. Countless army officers are being infiltrated into all key sectors of the nation. A militarist state worse than that of Japan of yesterday is being built up.

And in the meantime, the militarists' blundering of economic policies is taking the nation to ruins. Their reckless deficit financing has brought along an unprecedented currency inflation that might prove fatal to the military regime and U.S. Korean policy as well.

It is high time that the U.S. Government should put an end to its attempts to cover up the deplorable situation in Korea. And it is our sincere wish that all Americans with so glorious a democratic tradition would reject this enemy of democracy Park to enter their doors.

A REVIEW OF FIVE MONTHS OF ROK MILITARY DICTATORSHIP

Five months of military rule have reduced South Korea to shambles. All the noble works and the glorious progress of freedom and democracy gained by the April Revolution have been wiped out from the land. Patriots who had fought so long and so heroically for independence and then for unification have been condemned to die at the gallows. In place of everything democratic, a cold and terrible dictatorship has been built up. And on top of the darkness that reigns, an imminent economic catastrophe is threatening the nation into despair.

I. "MILITARY REVOLUTION"

Dictatorship

Wipe-Out of Democracy. The April Revolution last year had finally liberated South Koreans from long tyranny. And inspite of the chaos that followed, freedom filled the air wherein the nation struggled slowly but hopefully along its way towards a truly democratic, independent and unified tomorrow. Democracy was taking root in the ancient land. But, there lay in ambush another pack of dictators. The revolution was killed by the counter-revolution of the militarists.

The rosy words like "rooting out corruption" and "relieve the people's miseries" sung by the cocky generals that took over the Chang Myun Government on May 16 may have touched the hearts of some Koreans, but in time they were dis-illusioned. The militarists were no do-gooders. They were power-hungry men bent to rule the country at the point of bayonets. They spoke of democracy whenever needed but their real intent was to devastate democracy and build up a military dictatorship in its place.

Before the onslaught of the militarists, the Government, the Constitution and the National Assembly of the Second Republic no more than a half year old, political parties and social organizations, civil liberties and even fundamental human rights were completely wiped out from the country. Not a fragment of democracy remains now.

Incomparable Dictatorship. All these atrocities on democracy was committed in the name of military revolution. After succeeding in their maneuver to retain President Yun in office, the junta promulgated on June 6 the "Law concerning Extraordinary Measures for National Reconstruction", whereby the junta instated itself as the supreme organ of the land. The Extraordinary Law was designed to replace suspended portions of the Constitution (Art. 24). It provided that the Supreme Council was the "supreme organ" of the Republic until new elections are held and a new civilian government established (Art. 2). The Law also provided that the "basic rights" of the people would be limited so as not to hamper on the work of the revolution (Art. 3). The supreme council membership was set at 20 to 30 military officers on active duty. (Art. 4). The council also replaced the National Assembly (Art. 9) and the Cabinet was subjugated to the council (Art. 13).

By this Law, the militarists schemed to put a seemingly legal cloak on their government takeover, the series of sweeping decrees they had issued and also the "revolutionary" activities and measures they have been doing and enforcing in their work to build up the military dictatorship. The Supreme Council, by taking hold of the three supreme functions of the state-executive, legislative and judicial—have been enacting laws to suit their convenience, compiling national budgets according to their needs and enforcing revolutionary trials to condemn whom they wish. The greedy Council has even taken control of the revolutionary prosecution and court. It was criticized that there cannot be another dictatorship with so much absolute power. So, throughout the five months of military rule, the militarists intensified their devastation of democracy and also their perpetuation of the division of the nation by intensifying tensions in Korea and annihilating the unification forces.

The military reforms were not limited at the higher level of the state. Thousands of ROK army officers were singled out from their units and sent into all the governmental and judicial offices of the country and even into schools and businesses. In the meantime, 35,184 civil servants had been dismissed from government service in a clean up campaign by Aug. 16. In order to secure a more centralized government, the junta promulgated on September 2 a provisional law on local autonomy functions of Seoul and provincial governments and put them under direct control of the central government. The last bit of democracy remaining in the administrative institutions was clipped away. Then the largest personnel reshuffle in the history of the Korean judiciary was announced on August 28, whereby 52 judges were dismissed and 223 others reappointed. Then on September 1, the Supreme Council nominated 8 new justices for the Supreme Court.

Revolutionary Trials

Round-up of the Opposition. Meanwhile, crackdowns on the opposition were ruthless and thorough. In a week's time 2,014 political suspects were arrested and horded into prisons. The assault on the unification forces was especially brutal. As of July 17, 3,098 were arrested on pro-communist charges. But, regardless of progressives or conservatives, suspects were rounded up as long as they posed potential opposition to the militarists. Ministers of the Chang Myun Government, leaders of the National Assembly, generals of the army, and all the progressive leaders were taken into custody. All the suspects were arrested without being served warrants and locked up without being given rights to have counsels or assurance of fair trials. Many, including Dr. Lee Hun-Ku, United Socialist councillor and Che Kun-U, chairman of the Socialist party died in prison.

Cruelest Law. To counter "anti-revolutionary" and subsersive activities, a "Central Intelligence Bureau" was set up on June 13 to direct the operations of the Secret Service agents who were given investigation powers independent from the prosecution. Then on June 22, the "Retroactive Special Law to Punish Specific Offenses" was enforced to punish "'anti-state" and "anti-revolutionary" offenses during the past three and a half years or since Dec. 23, 1957. The ex post facto law was provided as a mother law to establish a revolutionary court and prosecution on the basis of the Extraordinary Law for National Reconstruction. Besides election rigging, smuggling and organized violence, the retroactive law particularly aimed at getting the anti-militarists. The law stipulated that ministers of the government and parliamentary leaders who have offended national interests, those persons who have deliberately obstructed the military revolution and leaders of political parties and social organizations and their collaborators who have committed insurrectionary activities were to be meted out with

severe punishments up to death.

Armed with this self-enacted law, denounced by Koreans as the cruelest law in history, the militarists stepped up their final assault on the opposition. All progressives under arrest including newspapermen and students who had worked for unification were indicted on "pro-Communist" charges. On July 4, Premier Chang Myun and his cabinet members were charged with anti-state activities through collaboration with the Communists. Koreans were shocked. Staunch anti-Communist Premier and Catholic John M. Chang was about the last person in Korea to collaborate with Communists. The junta's wild attacks were not limited to the democratic forces. It devoured its own offspring. The deadly intra-junta strife between Chang Do Yung and Park Chung Hi burst wide open and the underdog Chang and his followers were ousted from the junta and put away in prisons on charges of plotting assasination of Park. So, on July 9, Park became the new boss of the junta and the work to bolster the military dictatorship was stepped up at a more cold and calculating pace.

State Murder. In the meantime, preparations to open the "Revolutionary Trials" on anti-state and anti-revolutionary suspects were accelerated. Special laws to establish the Revolutionary Court and Revolutionary Prosecution were enacted on June 22. The prosecutors tortured the suspects, forged and cooked up datas. The junta unfolded a propaganda campaign to condemn the suspects. On July 29, five Revolutionary Tribunals opened and began hearings. One defendant was carried into the courtroom on a stretcher. A hoodlum boss was the first to receive sentence. Then on August 28, three officials of the Seoul Progressive daily, Minjok Ilbo, were given death sentences. The unfairness of the trial and cruelty of the sentences shuddered the nation. The defendants were found guilty of pro-Communist activities of advocating unification and North-South exchange which were lines similar to those of the North Korean Communist regime. The Court also pushed through its wierd construction of law that the commercial organization Minjok Ilbo was a social organization in the broad sense and, therefore, punishable under the Retroactive Law. The military judges exposed their ignorance of penal procedures and disrespect of the grand principles of law. They even gave two denfendants heavier penalties than demanded by the prosecution. This was no trial by law but a terroristic play directed by the junta leaders. The outrageousness of the trial is being censured throughout the world. No newspapermen have ever been given capital punishments involving trial of press. The militarists have committed the most brutal assault on free press in history.

The cruel sentences on the newspapermen were only a prelude to the ruthlessness of the militarists. As of October 13, 87 cases involving 259 defendants were tried by the Revolutionary Court, of which 23 persons were condemned to death, 5 were given life imprisonment, 34 received prison terms heavier than ten years and 46 others were jailed for eight years or less. 12 defendants were acquitted, 33 cases (88 persons) were turned over to the civil court and 23 cases (43 persons) were dismissed. The Court spokesman explained that those who committed anti-state and anti-revolutionary crimes were punished severely.

Sentences on progressives and citizens who had worked for unification were particularly severe. On Sept. 14, a death sentence was passed on disbanded Socialist Party agenda chief, Choi Paik-Keun and prison terms ranging from 5 to 15 years were given to 5 other officials of the party. Then on September 31, 8 leaders of the defunct Student League for National Unification. The heroes of the April Revolution, were handed down sentences to serve 5 to 15 years of their precious youth in dark prison dungeons. On October 4, Chang Kun-Sang, 78-year old chairman of the discredited Reformist Party was given 5 years

prison term on charges of helping the North Korean Communist regime. 5 other officers of the party were also passed down prison terms of 5 to 15 years. The sentences of the Revolutionary Court were denounced as mass murder in the name of the state. Through these trials, the militarists have proven themselves enemies of democracy, the nation and humanity itself.

Government Transfer

U.S. Pressure. In late July, reported the Hankuk Ilbo (Seoul daily), a secret top U.S.-ROK meeting was held at a former Syngman Rhee sea resort. The U.S., represented by Ambassador Samuel D. Berger, U.N. Commander Lt. Gen. Guy S. Meloy and U.S. Operations Mission to Korea Director Raymond T. Moyer, is said to have bluntly told Park Chung Hi and his men to return the government to civilian hands within a year. To this tough Park, reportedly, insisted on another five years to carry out his revolutionary programs. The U.S. put on pressure until a compromise was reached to set the time limit at two years and Park was urged to tell his people about it. So, on August 12, Park announced his plan on restoration of civilian rule. Besides promising restoration of civilian rule in the summer of 1963, Park's plan comprised restoration of the Presidential system, formation of a single-chambered national assembly and promulgation of a new Constitution. The following is the essence of Park's Aug. 12 statement on government turnover:

1. Prior to the turnover of the government to civilian control, the revolutionary government will accomplish at least the following basic tasks in order to create a true democratic political order and to prevent the relapse of vice: (a) It will eradicate all political and social vice, enhance the new spirit, and establish the dignity of law; (b) it will reform and develop all institutions to an extent that they will be set in the right direction and (c) it will rebuild the national economy and positively carry out the first year program of the 5-Year Overall Economic Reconstruction Plan.

2. The turnover of the government to civilian control is planned to be in the summer of 1963, for the following reasons: (a) The year of 1962 will be the period of reforming and rearing all institutions and the period of enforcing the first year of the 5-Year Overall Economic Reconstruction Plan. During the period, political activities and popular movements that may stagger execution of the revolutionary tasks will be restrained if necessary; (b) a new Constitution will be established and promulgated before March 1963 and (c) general elections will be held in May 1963. After the elections, the government will be completely turned over to civilian control in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution.

3. Form of Government will be the Presidential system; the National Assembly will be an unicameral assembly with 100 to 120 seats; elections will be managed by thorough public management of the government and a law will be enacted to prohibit corrupt and dishonest ones among the former politicians from returning to political circles.

4. The duration of the revolutionary government given above is believed to be the minimum length of time required for the fulfillment of the revolutionary foundation for democratic prosperity, of pledges and establishment of a firm government As to the form of government and formation of the National Assembly, opinions of the people will be heard widely and will be reflected in the new Constitution to be established.

Disappointed. The revolution-tired ROK public was sorely disappointed by the announcement. The criticism centered on the time limit and "two years is a long time" was the dominant sentiment. Chairman of the defunct New Democratic Party, Kim Do-Yeun commented: "Chairman Park's statement is unreasonable, for a civilian government can accomplish the

tasks he mentioned more swiftly." And although Park was checked at two years, his intent to perpetuate the military dictatorship is cleverly woven in his commitment. He has set down a bunch of pre-requisites for government turnover: "all political and social vice must be eradicated and dignity of law has to be established; all institutions must be reformed and developed in the right direction and the national economy has to be reconstructed. To do all this is considered an absolute impossibility in South Korea where the militarists have devasted, messed and bungled all earnest efforts towards democracy. And since there are no signs of such conditions being fulfilled or any possibility of the situation to improve except aggravate under the militarists, Park will always be in a position to prolong his rule as much as he likes provided he will be in power.

Restoration of Syngman Rhee System. As to the new Constitution, ex-representative Kim mentioned above demanded: "Drafting of the Constitution must be the task of the National Assembly. It will be a violation of the sovereignty of the people, if the new Constitution is promulgated without following this democratic procedure." The presses of Korea also requested in unison that the people must be allowed participation in the drafting of the new Constitution. Meeting such sharp criticism, Park revised his stand and revealed that the junta will only make ammendments on the suspended Constition. Whether new or revised, still Park has retained his position to mould the Constitution in the way he likes. The return to the Presidential system is feared by Koreans. It makes one recall the nightmarish rule by Syngman Rhee. The Presidential system was remodeled into a responsible Cabinet system of the Second Republic in view of all the corruption and tyranny committed by Syngman Rhee who was ordained excessive powers. And the single-chambered National Assembly was divided into a two-chambered Assembly for the purpose of checking the run-away of either houses and also realizing more discretion on legislation. So, it was pointed out that return to the Presidential system and the unicameral National Assembly was a scheme of the militarists to restore the dictatorial Syngman Rhee system in defiance of the people's will.

The Hankuk Ilbo reminded the public: "in the past, the nation opposed a public election management proposed by Syngman Rhee from fear that the Rhee's Liberals would ill-use the system." The militarists have dug up this idea of Rhee. And the public has expressed fears that the militarists might reject all undesirable politicians from entering the elections or interfere in the elections so as to monopolize the National Assembly with their favorite candidates.

Empty Promises. Despite such promises and heedless of the critcisms, the militarists have been working in the opposite direction. Park drubbed calls for abolishment of the martial law as "an improper discontent of those who have been fed with too much freedom." And the onslaught on democracy and its institutions is being executed indescriminately as ever. The militarists have finally invaded acdemic freedom. As of August 13, presidents of all national and public universities are to be nominated by the government without the need of faculty consent and the education minister is now entitled to meddle in the affairs of private universities too. The drive of the junta to permeate its militarism is thorough and unending. Ex-Chief Justice of the Supreme Court said: "More than a statement on government turnover, we want the restrictions on basic rights lifted at once." Such voices never do seem to enter the deaf ears of the militarists.

True Colors

Counter-revolution. The militarists often use the term revolution. In the Article 2 of the Law of Extraordinary Measures for National Reconstruction, the Supreme Council is defined as the supreme

organ of the state to execute the works of May 16 military revolution. They even call their military trials revolutionary trials. But, no matter how much they may use the term, their activities hardly come under the concept of revolution. A revolution in the modern sense of the word, must be a qualitative transformation of society running with the current of the times. It must be a radical changing of the political, economic and social system towards a higher stage of development. Have the militarists enforced any social transformation in this direction? On the contrary, they have devastated all the works towards progress. They have completely destroyed democracy that was finally taking root in the land. They have set the nation back into another darkness under a tyrannical dictatorship. The works of the militarists are not progressive but retrogressive. They are entirely reactionary. The popular uprisings of April last year might not have been a revolution in the full sense of the word but still they were revolutionary because the uprisings had the support of the nation whereby the Syngman Rhee regime was brought down and progress towards democracy was attained. The militarists, in vast contrast, not only took over the legitimate government elected by the will of the people but have devastated everything democratic and deprived the people of their freedom and even fundamental rights. Scholars have put it down clearly that the May 16 coup d'etat was but a feudalistic-type unsurpation of the government and a counter-revolution on the April Revolution.

The established theory in relation to the legality of revolutions is that revolutionary actions are justified when the actions are based on natural law. That is, if the revolution is carried out as the accumulated will of the people, the revolution will be legitimate inspite of its violation of the existing laws. In the case of the militarists, they have acted entirely against the will of the people, whereby their coup is not only unjustifiable but illegal and, therefore, counter-revolutionary.

Poles Apart from April Revolution. The joke is that the militarists really believe themselves as executing a revolution. They often pretend themselves as the heirs of the April Revolution. Park sung praise to the April Revolution in his recent appeal to the North Korean people. But it is all clear that the April Revolution and May 16 military coup d'etat are poles apart. The two must not be confused.

Still, when the members of the UNCURK (United Nations Commission for Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea) gathered in Seoul last July to prepare its annual report to the United Nations General Assembly, one member declared that the situation brought about by the April Revolution was equally grave as the present situation, but the matter was not discussed by the 15th session of the General Assembly attended by Khruschev and indicated as if there were no need for the General Assembly to question the legality of the military governnemt. It was criticized that the delegate was either out of his mind or a fascist.

The April Revolution, it should be recalled, was accomplished through the people's struggle spearheaded by the students, which began in the middle of March 1960 immediately after the March 15 Presidential elections and lasted for more than 40 days until April 26. The direct cause of the uprisings was the unfairness of the elections. The UNCURK in its annual report recognized this point and reported that the uprisings were the result of the justifiable enfuriation of the people against the previous Syngman Rhee Government which could not abide by the democratic rules. As this report had clarified, the April Revolution was executed entirely by the people.

In sharp contrast to this, the May 16 coup d'etat was staged by a handful of military men not even representing the armed forces less any other quarter of the nation.

The April Revolution recovered freedom

and democratic rights of the people. The UNCURK report appraised: "the revolution was a prof that Koreans have attained higher political maturity and independence." What has the coup brought forth? Dictatorship.

Treason. The April Revolution was carried out through the execution of the legal right to demonstrate. The bloodsheds that occurred were due to the firings done by the police. The UNCURK acknowledged in its report: "Many students were killed on account of the firings by the police which moved to suppress the demonstrators but there were no evidence that the students brought down the government by violence and once the students were accepted their demands, they cooperated with the Martial Law Commander in his work to restore peace and order." The process by which Syngman Rhee capitulated and the caretaker government was established were fully legal too. The resignation of Rhee, nomination of Huh Chung as acting President and the establishment of the Huh Chung Caretaker Government were all done in accords with the procedures provided in the Constitution. And, in the meantime, the National Assembly continued functioning until it dissolved on June 25 after deciding on the new Constitution. In this way, the resignation of Rhee, amendment of the Constitution and dissolution of the National Assembly were all done in strict accords with the law.

The May 16th coup d'etat cannot be justified legally from any angle. By its Decree No. 1, the junta ousted all the ministers of the Chang Cabinet, dissolved the National Assembly and all local assemblies and suspended the freedoms of speech, assembly and association. Then it enacted the Law of Extraordinary Measures for National Reconstruction to replace the Constitution. President Yun was retained in his office so as to give a seeming legality to the junta. By forcing President Yun to proclaim a martial law and allow the junta to rule the country, the militarists think that they have put a cloak of legality on their activities. But, first of all, the President is but a symbolic office of the state elected indirectly by the National Assembly and not directly by the people. Nextly, the militarists have violated the Constitution, for armed forces are prohibited by the Constitution to meddle in politics. (Article 6: The Republic of Korea shall renounce all aggressive wars. The mission of the National Armed Forces shall be to perform the sacred duty of protecting the country.) And, moreover, by forcing the ministers of the Chang Cabinet to resign and suspending the Constitution, the militarists have clearly committed a rebellion against the nation as stipulated in the 87th Article of the Criminal Law. It is needless to argue about legality: The militarists have committed downright treason against the state.

Mutiny against the U.N. The crimes of the militarists do not end here. Since the ROK armed forces are units constituting the U.N. Forces in Korea and under the control of the U.N. Command, they have committed munity against the United Nations by breaking away and also defying the Command. Then by taking over the legal government supported by the United Nations, destructing democracy and annihilating the unification forces, the militarists have undermined the intial tasks of the United Nations in Korea, which were to look after the democratic and unified development of Korea. This point is the biggest difference that distinguishes the South Korean military coup d'etat from those of other countries. While military takeovers in such countries as Turkey, Pakistan and Thailand were purely domestic affairs, in South Korea, the United Nations was there to safeguard the government. And thanks to this safety valve, a coup by the military was considered an impossibility. But the militarists dared to stage the takeover in defiance of the world organization. Koreans have demanded the United Nations to take measures of reprimand.

Anti-national. The only true nation-

alism needed in Korea today is the nationalism that works for unification of the fatherland. Divided Korea is the source of all the tragedies and miseries of the nation. Unification of Korea, therefore, have long been the dearest yearning of all Koreans. And inspite of the vast difficulties, the work of unification had been pushed to great heights ever since the April Revolution. Now look what the militarists have done! They even timed their coup just before the North-South Student Conference that was to be opened at Panmunjom on May 20. Once they succeeded in their adventure, they immediately cracked down on the unification forces and have recently sentenced many of the patriots to death. They are going to burn the unification leaders at the stakes to put a Red scare on the nation and to prove to the world that they are full-fledged anti-Communists. Thus the militarists have strangled the greatest aspiration of the nation. Koreans have denounced them as national enemies.

True Dictators. The militarists have proven themselves true dictators. On top of building up a rigid dictatorial structure to suit their measures, they have been forcing their militarism on the nation. A National Reconstruction Movement was started as early as June 9. The movement was designed to mobilize the entire nation in support of the military dictatorship. Militarist standard of conducts were set for the nation to follow and the movement is aimed to reach the lowest levels of the grassroots. Koreans likened this movement to those imposed on them by the Japanese militarists. A new code of ethics has also been drawn up for the presses. Newspapermen will still be forbidden access to key governmental offices. The militarists' policy is that the people should not know too much. Ignorance is bliss is their motto on dealing with the people. In the meantime, the militarists are said to be easing the fines imposed on the so-called illegal profiteers. Their commitments to "root out corruption" and "relieve the people's miseries" were wonderfully cast away to the winds. And, moreover, scores of dubious characters of the cast-out Rhee faction, who were the authors of the people's miseries and corruption, have been restored to key positions of the military administration. The militarists are suspected of designing to eventually turn the government over to these enemies of the nation. The flaudulent nature of the militarists' policies has become clear to all Koreans.

Menace To Peace. At his recent press conference, Park Chung Hi said that he will discuss with U.S. President Kennedy on how to strengthen and maintain Korean armed forces in an attempt to build up a stronger anti-Communist bastions and security in Northeast Asia. The implication is very alarming to Koreans and the world as well, for the military regime is feared to possess possibilities of intensifying international tensions so as to avert the nation's attentions away from the aggravating situation at home.

II. ECONOMIC POLICIES

Finance

Biggest Problem. The economic crisis is the biggest problem confronting South Korea today. Experts on Korea had warned at the outset of the military regime that the militarists would be digging their own graves lest they get busy in doing something drastic about the deteriorating ROK economy. The militarist have announced in succession more than 10 broad measures and plans and, after the world fashion, have drafted their own Five-Year Econom-

ic Reconstruction Plan. Paper works are simple but, in reality, not much seems to have been done in the direction to improve the economic chaos. The militarists were too engrossed in their work of crackdowns, witch hunts, purges and all other terrorisms of dictatorship to care for the economy except to blunder things to aggravate the situation more. Still, regardless of their negligence and incompetence, the chronic illness that has taken hold of the ROK economy was considered unremediable as long as South Korea is held in her reluctant state. So, inevitably, ROK economy kept slipping down the curve of deterioration.

Eventual Bankruptcy? Statistics clearly show that inactivity has worsened in every economic field since May 16 when the militarists took over. The recession deepened into critical business stagnancy by the end of July. In an attempt to animate economic activities, the military government took a pump-priming policy by making vast increases in the money supply. The policy helped business activities to some extent but the reckless government spending spree kept expanding money supuply to new records so much so that economists now warn that amalignant galloping inflation is highly probable towards the end of the year. The militarists emerged on the political scene committed to "relieve the people's miseries" but there seems no end to the miseries except eventual bankruptcy under the blundering guidance of the militarists. At any rate, let us examine the present state of ROK economy and the five months' work of the military regime.

Unprecedented Currency Inflation. The Monetary Board of the Bank of Korea announced on September 21 that the amount of currency circulation shot up by 47.5 billion hwan over last May 16 and reached another new record of 274 billion hwan as of August 31. This is 70.5 billion or a shocking 34% increase over August of last year. The ROK-U.S. Joint Economic Commission has set the currency stabilization line at 243 billion at end of 1961. So the record figure exceeds the limit by 33 billion hwan. And since the line has the high seasonal demand at the year-end in calculation, the viscious rate of the increase should be diagnosed as tru'y critical.

Deficit Financing. Now what exactly brought about such vast currency inflation? The major cause is the inflationary policy of the present government. The government is on a reckless deficit financing. As of August 31, actual budgetary expenditures totaled 356.7 billion hwan while actual revenue receipts reached only 329.8 billion which indicates a deficit financing of 26.7 billion.

1961 NATIONAL BUDGET

Expenditures

(100 million hwan)

	Estimated	Actual
General Expenditures	2617	1545
Defense	1668	1067
National Bonds	457	197
Counterpart Funds & Economic Reconstruction	907	469
Public Works	430	271
Illicit Fortunes	50	—
Total	6139	3556

Revenues

	Estimated	Actual
Tax Revenues	1819	1160
Receipts from Gov't Enterprises	265	179
National Bonds	421	151
Transferred from Counterpart Funds Special Account	2974	1307
Loan Accounts	480	500
Public Works	130	—
Illicit Fortunes	50	—
Total	6139	3298

As shown in the above table the budget itself had already estimated a 15%

deficit. Presuming that 100% of the National Bonds are consumed by the public, still the Loan Accounts of 48 billion hwan must be provided by new bank notes, which fully work as a powerful factor in increasing the money supply. In this way, the military government's deficit supplementary budgets have deepened the deficits of the original Budget compiled by the Chang Myun Government.

The actual receipts of revenues have reached only 54% of the total estimated revenues; whereas receipts of Loan Accounts have already surpassed the estimated sum of 48 billion by 2 billion hwan or 105%. So, tremendous amount of new money has been printed off and we have the present currency inflation.

As regards expenditures, actual rate defense expenditures have reached 64% of the budget as compared to the 58% of over-all actual expenditures. This figure clearly shows the enthusiasm of the militarists towards defense and that they are living up to their committment to "maintain the present defense level."

Buy American Policy and Devaluation. The serious deficit financing is the result of overdrawing for Defense Expenditures and slump in revenue receipts in the Counterpart Funds Special Accounts which are raised through sales of U.S. aid materials. As a measure to surmount the "dollar crisis", the U.S. stepped up its "Buy American" policy in Korea and also requested devaluation of the hwan. (During January, 1960 to February, 1961, the hwan was devaluated three times from dollar:hwan rate of 1:500 down to 1:1300). Thanks to the "Buy American" policy, receipts of aid materials decreased by 16% in substance since American products are relatively higher than products of other countries. And due to the successive hwan devaluations, the nominal amount of counterpart Funds Special Accounts jumped from 32% to 48.4% of the entire national revenue.

Price Hike of Raw Materials and Selling Below Costs. Power shortage, want of capital and sharp decrease in buying power have depressed the activities of ROK industries to the extreme. Over-all buying power has hit the bottom. But here came along the devaluations which resulted in the rise of raw materials, the bulk of which must be imported. And we have been seeing prices of manufactured goods rising from the days of the previous government and the trend is intensifying since the military takeover inspite of the fact that over-all price index is falling due to the severe business stagnation.

The Seoul Economic Newspaper reported on Oct. 6: "According to the Bank of Korea survey, Seoul wholesale price index went up by 1.2% during the period of Sept. 21-30 and stood at 197.8 (1955=100). In contrast to May 16 when the militarists took over, this figure shows a 1% decline. In the meantime, while index of grain prices dropped sharply by 12.3%, index of manufactured goods rose by 3%."

The Kyunghyang Shinmoon (newspaper) of Seoul reported on Sept. 27: "The Textile Association's report to the Commerce Ministry said that price of raw cotton has been going up ever since hwan was devaluated last February 2 and reached 194,460 hwan per bale on September 20 which has upped production cost of No. 23 count cotton yarn per bale to 314,000 hwan. Textile industry is now confronted with serious management difficulties, for cotton mills must go on producing at a loss of 14,000 hwan per bale since price of No. 23 count cotton yarn has risen only to 300,000 hwan."

Serious Business Stagnation. The trend is universal and all ROK industries are deteriorating at a fast pace hit by big price hikes in raw materials and sharp decrease in buying power. Presently, 9 among 27 flour milling enterprises have closed down and remaining mills have all curtailed production. Due to sharp drop in demand, 4 big sugar refining plants are now idle and total sugar output has decreased to 20% of capacity. Although the cement industry is operating at full capa-

city of 499,390 tons per year, demand is down to a low level of about 250,000 tons per year. Among 31 paper factories, all except those producing paper for presses are curtailing production by 50%. Plastic plants are operating at 70% capacity but output is down to 55%, of which 70% depends on credit sales and 30% is being stored. The depression here is due to sales difficulties and capital shortage. Match factories are operating at 49% capacity, of which 30% relies on credit sales and 50% on commission sales. Agricultural chemical plants are operating at 40%. Funiture factories at 25% and inventories here have reached 60% owing to slackening in demand. Glass factories are working at 40%, and their stocks are up to 40%. Iron and steel work are operating at 69%; brick factories, 40%; lumber and veneer factories, 70% and glass factories, 40%. Even in the most active textile industry, cotton mills are operating below full capacity, (90%) and textile mills at 75% capacity. In such manner, the entire manufacturing industry is hard depressed. Stagnancy in the manufacturing industry is highly symbolized by the fact that there is surplus of electricity in South Korea today! Normally, power plants could only supply about half the maximum demand and plants had to curtail production.

Unable to Digest U.S. Aids. The over-all stagnation in business activities has brought serious effects. ROK economy can no longer digest the huge amount of U.S. aids. This is because overall buying power has hit the bottom. So, the government cannot raise counterpart funds that come in through the sales of U.S. aid materials which consequently makes the receipts of budget revenues slacken. The actual receipts of Counterpart Funds Special Accounts has reached only 43% of the estimated sum. This is 11% lower than the over-all average of actual rate of revenue receipts. Thus the government has to borrow more money from the Bank of Korea to meet its expenditure needs and so we have the currency inflation.

Tax Collection Drive. Put in such a fix, the militarists have resorted to the old practice: collect the taxes. The military government has been on a rampant tax collecting drive in order to boost the flow-in of national revenues. The drive is being pushed through such measures as enaction of new tax laws, reorganizing the tax collecting system and heavier penalties on tax delinquents. On June 22, the Finance Ministry decided to "investigate the properties of tax delinquents and to seize and sell them at foreclosure sales." On July 21, the government enacted a new "Provisional National Tax Collection Law" and decided to set up an "Overdue National Tax Adjustment Committee". On August 1, it enforced a "Special Law for Tax Offenders" which defined heavy penalties for tax delinquents. Then on August 17, it announced a thorough tax system reform plan. Through revision of the 4 basic tax laws of Business Profit, Personal Income, Corporation Income and Education Tax Laws, the plan aimed at making tax collecting more efficient.

Thanks to such measures, receipts of tax revenues have already reached 11.6 billion hwan which is equal to 64% of the budget and 10% over the over-all revenue receipts average of 54%. Inspite of such fine results, the military regime is still placing the blame of the deficit financing on tax delinquency and is intensifying its tax collecting drive. On Sept. 22, the Finance Ministry announced that it had "collected 22.3% of the over-all deliquent taxes through foreclosure sales" and warned the nation that "it will go on meting the delinquents with heavy penalties."

Ease on Illicit Fortune Markers. Nearly half of the ROK national budget is covered by U.S. aids (48.4% of 1961 Budget). But as we have pointed out above, the ROK public is finding it immensely difficult to consume all the aids due to severe business stangnation. But the military regime has alluded one of the causes of the stagnation to its own policy on illegal profiteers during the previous

governments. The militarists dared to ease prosecution of the rascals by confessing that the restrictions on the profiteers are "imparing the creativeness in business activities." And in this line of thought, the junta leaders are said to be planning a broad reduction of the fines charged on them. So, the militarists' initial commitment to "root out corruption" is again being cast to the winds. It was all too clear that the militarists had no real intention of punishing the profiteers from the beginning anyway.

At any rate, the consumption of U.S. aids have not improved in the least and the government is desperately trying to interest the businesses to utilize the aid materials. It has lowered tariffs and expanded the frame of the importable materials but neither measure has proved effective. The real cause of the trouble lies in the government finance. It is too heavily dependent on U.S. aids. And now that ROK economy cannot digest the aids, the situation is considered doubly serious, because the trend has not only endangered the ROK government finance but also has brought U.S. policy in Korea to a deadlock.

Self-Paying Basis And Price Hike of Gov't Enterprises. As a measure to withhold government expenditures, self-paying basis has been imposed on all government enterprises. On May 28, the junta ordered all government enterprises such as telephone, telegraph, railways, postal services, tobacco etc. to do house-cleaning and manage on profit bases. On September 22, the Finance Ministry already announced that all the government enterprises except Grain Control Commission recovered self-paying bases. It is fine to have government enterprises to operate in the black but the process by which these results were attained is questionable. Chang Do Yung, the ousted Chairman of the Supreme Council, had warned on May 28 that the main cause of the mis-management of government enterprises was "too many idle hands." And at his order, great numbers of employees were turned out from the enterprises and overwork was forced on the remaining employees. In the meantime, prices and service rates of the government enterprises and public services were hiked. Electricity went up. Bus fares and water rates were raised in Seoul. And postal service, telephone and railways are assumed to follow in the price hikes. It must be said that the self-paying basis, therefore, was gained at the expense of the public.

Militarists Panicky. The military regime is now desperately trying to mount the crisis by their stop-gap measures like strengthening of tax collection, self-paying basis for government enterprises and over-issuing of bank notes which means vast sacrifices on the part of the public; while on the other hand, it is easing its penalties on the illegal profiteers. Inspite of all the attempts, deficit financing is aggravating the crisis and the currency inflation is likely to take the nation along to eventual banckcruptcy. The release of U.S. aids may be a stop-gap measure to stem the increase of money supply but will not be decisive. However a measure most typical of the militarists has come up recently. They have now put a ban on publishing new figures on currency circulation. The Bank of Korea was ordered to stop its announcements on currency circulation as of Oct. 5. The step indicates how panicky the militarists have become about the crisis. True dictators that they are, the militarists are not going to let the people know any more about the inflation lest they should get panicky too.

Unemployment and Labor

Slave Labor. The military government said in its 5 Year Overall Economic Reconstruction Plan that the total unemployed in the country was about 2,818,000 which comprised 26.8% of the 24,994,000 in the working populace. From June 30, a registration of the unemployed was performed which resulted in a total registration of only 320,000. These two contradicting figures symbolizes the military re-

gime's policy on unemployment relief. Only able men of 14 to 60 years of age entirely out of job (less than 1 hour per week) were asked to register. As the registration was voluntary, most of the unemployed declined to do so because the only relief job they would be offered was the notorious National Construction Service. According to Aug. 31 Hankuk Ilbo, civil engineering students of the Pusan University who did voluntary work at the camps reported: "We worked from 6 A.M. to 6:30 P.M. with an hour and a half noon recess which amounted to full 11 hours' work. But just how could a laborer live on the measely wage of 800 hwan per day (60 cents)? We saw countless women and even children less than 10 years old carrying heavy loads on their heads and shoulders. We had to request the authorities to increase the low wages and also to abide by the 8hrs. a day system regulated by law."

The real aim of the government in performing such registration was considered to get a low figure on the unemployed so as to create an impression that the situation was not bad after all.

The government noted that a total of 14 million men (work days) had been employed under the National Construction Service up to the end of October. And Premier Song recently announced that the government was working on a Labor Guidance Law comprising the following plan: This law will mobilize the completely unemployed between the ages of 20 to 30 for the proposed National Construction Corps which will be formed early next year composed of some 50,000 members in four units. The unemployed are to be recruited in accordance with the labor guidance law and partly by draft dodgers aged 28 or more. The former will complete their service in 12 months and the latter in 18 months. The mobilization of the unemployed will be carried out upon the unemployed census and the registration of applicants. The recruited are planned to work at projects such as highway expansion, water supply, anti-flood projects and expansion of drainage system.

No wonder the unemployed should hold back from registering. The militarists have done a lot of talking about unemployment relief but all they have thought up is this compulsory slave labor.

Government Controlled Unions. The junta had disbanded all labor unions at the outset of the military regime. After two months the ban was lifted on Aug. 3 and the Supreme Council adopted a industrial unionism for reorganization of the various trade unions throughout the country which were to be done on the basis of unitary structure. A militarists-inspired new national federation the Hankook Nochongryn, was inaugurated on Aug. 30. The new federation was immediately criticized. Kim Mal-Yung, former chairman of the Noryun, charged: "The government is oppressing the free labor movement. The labor administration authorities have appointed persons to the new organization's posts and have permitted no free assembly. We bade farewell to Korean labor movement because we do not want to yield to injustice." So, the militarists have killed free labor movements and put reorganized labor under their control.

Agriculture

Usurious Debts. The impoverishment of South Korean farms is not describable by words. In last April, an incredible 42% of total farms, that is 6 million households, were near starvation. Total debts of Korean farmers added up to the enormous sum of 184.4 billion hwan or about 80,000 hwan per household and 70% of the debts were of high interests.

The junta by its early decree suspended collection of these usurious debts. Registration of the debts were started Aug, 4, but at the end of a month period, total registration reached only 19.2 billion which was barely 25% of the estimated total of 79.8 billion. The poor showing compelled the government to extend the period another month. At the close of the registration on Sept. 25, the total amounted to 51,-

086,576,056 hwan in 1,231,851 cases. The Agriculure Ministry called the program a success but the amount was hardly 60% of the estimated total.

The Hankuk Ilbo wrote in its Aug. 23 editorial: "The farming populace which occupies 65% of the national population, participates in producing 38% of national products, but income per capita amounts to only about 40,000 hwan (30 dollars). Debts caused by fund shortage (66,933 hwan per household), decrease in planted acreage, restoration of the tenant system, cheap prices, and lack of fertilizers have boosted production cost of rice so much so that farmers are losing 4,000 hwan per suk (4.96 bushels)" In view of such situation, the government increased its purchase price of rice to 27,898 hwan per suk. This is 46% increase over the previous year. But the new price is considered still inadequate to fill the gap between the price of grains and such farming necessities as fertilizer and farm tools created by the drastic rise in the foreign exchange rate. The government will buy 2 million suks this autumn. But it was believed that the government would have to buy a lot more to forestall the non-voluntary dumping. For, an unusual bumper crop estimated a around 18.3 million suks was reaped. And as feared, with the increase of rice supply to the free market, the price is dropping at a fast pace. The Hankuk Ilbo had commented: "In bumper years, prices go down. In lean years, farmers famish. The vicious cycle goes around. And farmers cannot ever get themselves out of their bad lot." Suspension of collecting usurious debts and raise of rice prices are reasonable measures but tentative and superficial. Experts have pointed out that poverty-ridden South Korean farmers will never be relieved from their plightful state unless something drastic like land reform is executed.

III. SOCIAL MEASURES

National Reconstruction Movement

Militarists-sponsored. The militarists launched a national front type "National Reconstruction Movement" as early as June 9 to mobilize the entire nation in support of the military dictatorship. Dr. Yu Chin-O, President of the Korea University was called in to head the organization. But the movement never got rolling and at the end of August, a total reorganization had to be made on it.

The purpose of the movement was to (1) build up opposition to pro-Communist and neutralist ideas (2) enforce the austere life (3) instil the "spirit of work" among citizens (4) promote national zeal for increased production (5) build up the national morality (6) purify the emotional concept of the people and (7) improve health standards. Its headquarters were set up in Seoul and local chapters were organized in provinces, cities, countries, villages and down to "block units". The movement reminded one of the totalitarian "Imperial Rule Assistance Movement" organized during World War II by the Japanese militarists.

Breakdown and Overhaul. On August 29, Park Chung Hi criticized the results of the movement as stagnant and unsatisfactory and said that a overall review should be made on the government-sponsored movement concerning its basic directions and practical measures. So, even Park had to admit the breakdown of the movement. National movements of the kind usually wane as soon as the nation is discouraged by the fruitlessness of the movement. The militarists themselves had declared: "the movement holds the key to success or failure of the military revolution." The fail-

ure, no doubt, dealt a heavy blow on the prestige of the military regime. Still, the movement is about the last means that the militarists can enlist the nation's support. Thus the militarists, inspite of the bitter lesson, are making another desparate attempt to renovate the movement. Lew, Dal-Yung, former professor at Seoul National University's Agricultural College was named the new Director in early September, and a overhaul on the Reconstruction Movement was begun. Lew put forward the following plan for reorientation: Military leaders will gradually be replaced by civilians in an effort to develop the movement into a "pure" civilian campaign. Chiefs of city and county movement chapters which have formerly been led by military personnel, will be replaced by civilians within this year. Emphasis will particularly be placed on promoting the movement among the farming polpulace. According to this reorganization plan some 500,000 new "leaders" have been named to lead the 166,875 chapters throughout the country, and each "block unit" is ordered to hold regular meetings.

But, any popular movement cannot succeed without the active support of the general public. A better climate must be made before the nation can get in the mood to show spontaneous participation. The nation is still restricted to hold free assemblies and the martial law still reigns. Korean presses have pointed out that as long as the military regime withholds its restrictions on civil liberties, the movement can hardly enlist the active participation of the nation. Moreover, the nation is so hard hit by the damages done by the militarists. The critical plight in which the economy has fallen into, for instance, is said to have completely undermined the productive will of the nation. The militarists' attempt at reorganizing the stagnant Reconstruction Movement, therefore, is like trying to set the car moving after breaking down the engine with one's own hands.

School Reforms

Crackdowns. Immediately after succeeding in their coup d'etat, the militarists launched crackdown operations on schools and rounded a great number of teachers and students as political suspects. The militarists feared the students as the main element to challenge their rule. A statement was issued by the ruling junta on June 9, which declared that the students who staged the historic April Revolution against the autocratic President Syngman Rhee have mixed too much in the public life of the nation since their victory owing to their self-conceit and pseudo-heroism and urged students to go back to their campuses and concentrate on studies. On the same day the Education minister Mun Hi-Suk (Marine Col.) assembled the heads of the nation's 65 colleges and universities and ordered professors and students to stay out of political activities and labor unions. On September 28, 8 student leaders were given prison terms of 5 to 15 years on charges of pro-Communist activities during the previous government.

Invasion of Academic Freedom. Education Minister Mun announced on August 13 that presidents of national and public universities would hereafter be nominated directly by the government without the need of the faculty's consent, Mun said that the measure was to eliminate factionalism in university faculties, enlist talented scholars and to strengthen government control over universities. The meaure was criticized as a clear invasion of academic freedom and also that the militarists were scheming to get universities headed by their favorite scholars.

Furthermore, on September 3, the Education Ministry promulgated a Special Provisional Law on Education. By this law, all educational institutes, whether public or private, are placed under strong control of the government. The government is empowered to interfere in the affairs of private institutes. The law has set the retirement age of 60 for all university

professors and has left to the Education Minister the choice of temporary directors of the private university board. There is no example in the history of academic freedom that private institution are subjected to extensive official control.

The Education Minister is also authorized to abolish or order merger of schools or departments in universities. Under the law, private universities can be forced to merger with others. The militarists have definitely gone mad. They have now trampled on the very sanctity of free education. This is the way of fascists.

In accords with this law, a series of programs to reorganize the state universities was announced on Sept. 5. Seven colleges were ordered abolished. Only 12,500 out of the estimated 39,000 potential university students will be admitted into four-year universities.

A protest rally was held immediately by Seoul National University students. A recommendation was adopted at this meeting which called for the status quo of the college setup. The students said they wanted no reorganization. Three professors at the University, including the dean of the Teachers College, suspected of participating in the rally were dismissed by the Education Ministry. The harsh action drew bitter criticism from the public. The Korea Times wrote: "It is quite open to question if the responsibility of those fired professors for opposing a specific educational policy of the government may be regarded as their overall disloyalty to the revolutionary government deserving that sort of disciplinary action." Blind obedience alone is honored under the dictatorship.

Press

Censorship. The assault on fress press has been thorough. By May 25, 76 ROK newspapers and 305 news agencies were abolished and number was left at 15 Seoul dailies out of 64 and 24 local newspapers out of 51; only 11 news agencies were authorized to operate in the capital which meant that 241 out of 252 operating in Seoul and all 64 news agencies outside of Seoul were officially closed. In the meantime, the presses were subjected to a strict self-censorship and directed that no news must (1) aid the enemy (2) obstruct the military revolution (3) impair the public order (4) harm the public opinion and national sentiment (5) undermine the military morale and (6) reveal military secrets. The one and only one Seoul progressive daily Minjok Ilbo was closed down at once. All its officials were arrested, put on Revolutionary Trial whereby 3 officials were sentenced to death.

"Press Ethics Commission". On July 28, the Supreme Council announced a draft bill governing the standard and requirements for newspapers, news agencies and other periodicals to "encourage responsible press." The most outstanding feature of the draft is the strict requirements in finance and equipment of press institutions. Under the provisions of the bill, each daily newspaper must have a building, rotary presses, adequate types with photography and engraving equipment, news services must own buildings and teletype equipment and have contacts with one or more foreign press services, while magazine publishers are asked to have at least 10 million hwan in bank deposits. This means that one has to be a millionaire in order to be a publisher. Every good and able citizen should be entitled to freedom of speech, press and publication. The militarists have finalized their suppression of free press.

In line with this government plan, the Korean Press Ethics Commission was inaugurated and a "Standard of Conduct for Newsmen" was adopted on September 12. This institution is a press watch dog to self-discipline irresponsible reporting. Inspite of the establishment of the self-control under the pressure of the militarists, the junta has not relaxed any of its strict restrictions on news reporting. Official control over the sources of news is still stiff as ever. Government offices deny reporters access to information sources, and

only give out prepared handouts. In this way, the militarists are rejecting the people's right to know what the authorities are doing. Moreover, Korean newspaper edi tors were recently ordered not to publish either the title or contents of proposed laws and cabinet ordinances not officially announced. The people are kept entirely deaf of what is really being done by the government. When things come to such extents, it is total reign of darkness. The secretive ways of the militarists are typical of dictators. The people must not know. Ignorance is bliss, the dictators believe.

New Assembly Law

Freedom is Dead. The Supreme Counsil promulgated on September 9 a Provisional Law on Assemblies. The law specifies the permissable assemblies and provides for 24-hour prior notice to the police. The law stipulates that no indoor and outdoor gatherings except meetings specified in the following categories would be permitted: meetings directly connected to implementation of economic development projects; for agricultural guidance projects; relief works; national reconstruction movement; enlightenment for prevention of epedimics and traffic accidents; of newspapermen for development of a responsible press and upholding ethics; for reconstruction movements by students; athletic and entertainment gatherings; and general assembly and staff meetings of officially registered social and economic organizations. Assemblies sponsored by the government or local autonomy bodies, theaters, religious rites, funeral services and wedding ceremonies are free from the prior notification. And offenses are liable to punishments up to 5 years in prison.

Under this new law on assemblies, people's right to free speech and assembly is entirely suppressed. The purpose of the law is to put gags on the people. Freedom is dead in South Korea, buried deep in its grave by the hands of the militarist.

MAJOR POST-COUP EVENTS

May

16 3500 ROK troops led by Army Chief of Staff Lt. Gen. Chang Do Yung staged coup d'etat and took over the Chang Myun government. Military rule was proclaimed and Chang Do Yung became Chairman of the military junta.

18 Premier Chang Myun capitulated to the military takeover and resigned his Cabinet en masse.

20 Military government was formed and Chang Do Yung became Premier.

21 All political parties and social organizations were dissolved.

24 Lt. Gen. Chang Do Yung announced plan to go to Washington to explain the military takeover to President Kennedy.

25 U.S. State Department refused proposed Chang trip to Washington.

28 Military junta announced arrests of 25 leading businessmen former government officials and retired generals for making illegal fortunes during previous regimes.

June

6 Law of Extraordinary Measures for National Reconstruction was promulgated which instated the Supreme Council for National Reconstruction as the supreme organ of the state.

9 Education Minister Mun Hi Suk ordered professors and students to stay out of political activities and labor unions.

10 The National Reconstruction Movement aimed to mobilize the entire nation was launched with Dr. Yu Chin-O as didector.

July

3 Lt. Gen. Chang Do Yung was ousted from the junta and Maj. Gen. Park Chung Hi became new Chairman of the Supreme Council for National Recon-

struction. Lt. Gen. Song Yo Chan was named as new Chief of Cabinet.

4 The Supreme Council charged ousted Premier Chang Myun and seven of his ministers with collaborating with the Communists.

6 Mutual Defense Pact was signed between North Korea and the Soviet Union.

9 Chang Do Yung was accused of supporting a plot to assassinate Park Chung Hi and seeking use of U.S. troops to suppress the May 16 coup. 44 other officers were also accused as conspirators.

11 Mutal Defense Agreement was signed between North Korea and Communist China.

22 Economic Planning Board was created and the Supreme Council announced a draft 5-year economic development plan.

27 U.S. Secretary of State Dean Rusk gave strong endorsement to the ROK military government.

29 The Revolutionary Court opened its trials on the suspects charged with "anti-state" and "anti-revolutionary" activities.

Aug.

12 Chairman Park Chung Hi announced a statement on restoration of civilian rule which is to be in the summer of 1963.

13 27 illicit profiteering businessmen were notified to pay 47,760,283,134 hwan or 35,360,389,266 hwan less than previous announced.

20 Chairman Park Chung Hi and Premier Song Yo-Chan had a rendezvous with U.S. Ambassador Samuel D. Berger at the southern naval port city of Chinhae.

24 A mass reshuffle of judges affecting all of the 280 judges of various courts throughout the country was announced. 52 judges were dismissed while 223 others were "reappointed."

28 Three officials, including publisher Cho Yung-Su of the defunct Seoul progressive daily, the Minjok Ilbo, were sentenced to death by the revolutionary court on charges of pro-Communist activities.

30 Kim Yu-Taik, charman of the Economic Planning Board flew to Japan to meet Japanese leaders to pave a way for resumption of ROK-Japan talks.

Sept.

1 Eight Supreme Court judges were appointed normalizing the functions of the nation's highest tribunal.

2 A provisional law on local autonomy was promulgated depriving the local functions of the Seoul and nine provincial governments.

7 Yu Chin-O resigned as head of the National Reconstruction Movement. Lew Dal-Yung, an agricultural college professor was appointed successor with tasks to reorganize the stagnant movement.

11 United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea (UNCURK) completed its annual report to the 16th session of the U.N. General Assembly.

12 ROK Foreign Ministry and White House announced that Park Chung Hi will visit Washington Nov. 14 and 15.

14 Socialist Party agenda chief, Choi Paik Keun, was given death sentence by the Revolutionary Court of pro-Communist charges.

17 The North Korean Workers' Party called on the South Korean people to unfold a struggle to crush the U.S. imperialists and their agents in order to realize unification.

25 All members of the Special Investigation Committee to probe illicit profiteering was arrested assumably on charges of receiving bribes.

30 8 Leaders of the disbanded Student League for National Unification were given prison terms ranging from 5 to 15 years.

Oct.

3 Chairman Park Chung Hi sent a appeal to the North Korean people on unification and called on them to "trigger a anti-Communist liberation struggle."

HEROES OF APRIL REVOLUTION GIVEN SEVERE SENTENCES

The cruel trials on the ROK unification forces are being pushed rapidly by the Revolutionary Court. Following the death sentences on 3 officials of the progressive daily Minjok Ilbo and a leader of the defunct Socialist Party, severe sentences were passed on the leaders of the disbanded Student League for National Unification on September 30. Identical to the Minjok Ilbo Case, the defendants were found guilty of "anti-state" activities "benefiting the North Korean Communist regime by advocating lines similar to those of that regime." In face of the unfairness of the trial and cruely of the verdicts, protest movements are being unfold by Korean and foreign students in many countries.

All nine leaders of the League were arrested right after the May 16th coup, put on trial on September 8 and after a few hearings, were given the following sentences.

Sentences

Defendant	Age	School	Verdicts
Yu Keun-Il	24	Seoul National University	15 years (15)
Lee Soo-Byung	24	Kyunghi University	15 years (life)
Kim Sung-Kyun	23	Sungkyun University	10 years (7)
Ro Wuen-Tae	24	Kuenkuk University	10 years (7)
Yun Shik	23	Seuol National	10 years (7)
Lee Yung-Il	23	Seoul National	7 years (7)
Whang Kuen	23	Seoul National	6 years (6)
Shin Jae-Taek	21	Seoul National	5 years (7)
Yuen Hyun-Bae	19	Foreign Language University	5 years (7)

(in paren. are sentences demanded)

The Court's decision judged that the collegiates were found guilty of (1) planning to hold a North-South Student Conference; (2) opposing the legislation of two bills presented by the Chang Myun government —the Demonstration Control Law and the Anti-Communism Special Law. These activities were ruled as offenses stipulated in the 6th Article of the Retroactive Special Law.

The student defendants were reported to have contended throughout the trial that they were right in their stands and did not yield an inch to the accusations. It should be noted that these students were the heroes of the April Revolution. They had fought as spearheads in the popular uprisings of last year that brought down Syngman Rhee's dictatorship. As the Chang government that followed brought but chaos and disappointment to the nation, the students were compelled by their patriotism to rise again to save their fatherland.

Peaceful unification had become the platform of all ROK political parties in the July elections of last year and were strongly endorsed by all the presses of South Korea. On Nov. 22, leading representative of the New Democratic Party Lee Min-U declared: "Exchange of letters between North and South Korea is a must from the standpoint of humanity. On January 2, 1961, ex-Secretary General of the Chang Cabinet, Jueng Huen-Ju said; "Although the government cannot negotiate directly with North Korea, we will welcome political organizations to make tries at North-South negotiations and economic exchanges." And the Seoul Shinmoon wrote in its Jan. 5 editorial; "The biggest hope of the new year is the advance toward

PROTEST

Issued by Korean Students of Tokyo University (Oct. 14)

We, Korean students studying at Tokyo University have opposed the ROK military government ever since the coup. We have firmly opposed the military regime which has trampled even on the basic human rights and have kept vigile on the developments in anxiety of the future of the fatherland. Now, the militarists have on top of the atrocities committed on the jounalists and politicians as in the Minjok Ilbo Case, passed severe sentences on the leaders of the Student League for National Unification, the heroes of the April Revolution who had fought for the fatherland with their lives. Enfuriated by the outrage, we here, protest.

These patriotic students fought at the forefront of the nation which had suffered so much under the corrupt Syngman Rhee regime. But a year after the April Revolution, social vice again spread throughout the land. The students believing that the future of the nation could only be secured through unification alone, formed the Student League for National Unification. The mood within the nation to accomplish unification peacefully and independently reached new heights. In this atmosphere, the students opposed the Anti-Communism Special Law and Demonstration Control Law and also the ROK-U.S. Economic Agreement. The Minjok Ilbo which endorsed peaceful unification and the students that proposed the North-South Student Conference had the enthusiastic support of the nation.

Inspite of such circumstances, the military regime passed down capital punishments on these patriots in the name of Revolutionary Trial. The militarists have exposed their anti-national and undemocratic nature. We can never allow such atrocities. We, here, denounce the military regime and demand:

1. *Acquit and release the Student Leaders at once!*
2. *Acquit and release all the patriots at once!*
3. *Stop the anti-national and undemocratic Revolutionary Trials at once!*

North-South exchange." North-South exchange was already the fashion of the times when the students joined the ranks of the unification forces. For, the Student League for National Unification was formed as late as last May 5. And the North-South Student Conference was looked forward by the nation to build a bridgehead for unification.

As to the charge of opposing the ROK-U.S. Economic Pact, which was inked on last Feb. 8, the pact was denounced by nearly the entire opposition including most of the New Democrats, as an "unequal treaty." And as to the last charge of opposing the two notorious law bills, even the New Democrats besides the entire progressive camp, opposed the bills on grounds that there were dangers of freedom of speech being trampled on. The Hankuk Ilbo (conservative daily) had denounced the bills as "remindful of the bad laws used by Hitler to devastate the world."

The students, therefore, had merely worked in the interests of the nation. The unfairness to brand them "pro-Communists" and the cruelty to serve such severe punishments against them is clear to anyone with a sensible mind. Mad as they are, the bloodthirsty militarists have thrown these national heroes into dark dungeons just for the sake of terrorizing the students and nation as well.

Protest movements against the verdicts arose immediately among ROK students studying in Japan. Korean Student Leagues of the Universities of Tokyo, Waseda, Hosei and many other have filed protests denouncing the ROK military regime as an "enemy of all Korean students and youths" and requesting immediate release of the convicted students. In the meantime, a Japanese student group of the Ritsumeikan University in Kyoto sent a protest to Park Chung Hi, chairman of the ROK junta, "to put an end to its brutal suppression of patriotic students and citizens of South Korea."

THIEVES SET TO CATCH THIEVES

The Special Investigation Committee Scandal

Inspite of the shocking impact, dictatorship-tired South Koreans were recently entitled to a good laugh in a long time. The ROK military junta confessed to its own blundering of setting thieves to catch thieves: On October 7, the Supreme Council disclosed that it arrested on Sept. 25 all members of the Special Investigation Committee which it had appointed to probe illegal profiteering during the previous regimes.

Minister, Professors and Brasses. The junta refused disclosing the details of the scandal until completion of the investigation, but Committee sources revealed that more than 40 persons were arrested including a brigadier general, 12 colonels and a number of lower grade officers as well as professors and businessmen. Construction Minister Shin Jae-Whan, former President of Chungang University Chae Ho-Jin, professor of Korea University Sung Chang-Whan and President of Daehan Industry Inc. Sul Kyung-Dong were among the civilians arrested. The sources also said that the junta suspected the investigators of accepting bribes from the businessmen to get their fines lowered.

Generals versus Younger Officers. It was also reported that the scandal was touched off as a result of the hidden conflict going on between generals and younger officers of the ROK army. From the days of Syngman Rhee rule, ROK generals were frequently involved in scandals in connection with sales of military supplies and recently many generals were reported working on the junta to get the restrictions and penalties against illicit fortune-makers eased. The younger officers in sharp contrast, are said to be in support for strict punishment from the viewpoint that the big business built up through illegal profiteering are the stumbling blocks which hinder economic development of Korea, and they had brooded plans to procure funds for reconstruction projects through confiscation and selling of the corporate shares owned by the illicit profiteers. But up till this incident, the generals had the upper hand and the junta inclined in favor of easing the penalties against the fortune-makers.

Formation of the Investigation Committee. The Special Investigation Committee on Illicit Profiteering was set up on May 28 twelve days after the coup with a staff of 30 men. Major General Lee Choo Il was named Chairman and the three professors above were invited to serve as counsels. Besides these three civilians, all key posts of the Committee were occupied by military men (3 generals and 13 colonels). Meanwhile, the junta set the line for the illicit fortune-makers liable to punishment, defining that civilians who profited more than 200 million hwan through tax evasion and civil servants who illegally earned more than 50 million hwan were to be questioned.

A Slight Gesture. On the day of the formation of the Committee, the junta arrested 24 suspects (9 civilians, 10 civil servants and 5 generals) including such characters as President of Whashin Industry Inc. Park Hueng-Shik former, Seoul Mayor Im Whueng-Shik and ex-Commander of 6th Division Pek In-Hyup, and created an impression as if the militarists were truly bent on executing their promise of "rooting out corruption." But the commitment ended in a slight gesture, for all the suspects were released hardly before a week was over, which proved that the militarists were not very enthusiastic about punishing the profiteers. This lukewarm attitude heartened businessmen including Park Hueng-Shik to step up behind-the-scenes maneuvers in getting the restric-

tions on businessmen (profiteers as well) loosened. The nomination of Kim Yu Taik, ex-President of Bank of Korea, to the post of Vice Premier and Chief of the Economic Planning Agency gave big boost to the causes of the profiteers. They now mobilized presses under their control and created an impression as if the business stagnation was the result of the junta's restrictions on the activities of the profiteers. The maneuver did succeed and on July 5 the freeze on bank deposits imposed immediately after the coup was lifted and a law was enacted to guarantee the secrecy of all uninscribed deposits. The illicit profiteers also enjoyed these benefits and consequently investigations on illicit profiteering were entirely shut out from the banks, thus nullifying the investigations. The softening of the junta's policy towards illicit profiteers encouraged such fortune-makers like Lee Puing Chul, president of Samsung-Industry and Yui Tai Ha, former ambassador to Japan to return to South Korea.

Lenient Punishments. The Special Investigation Commission announced on Aug. 13 that it had finally decided to confiscate a total of 49,713,450,000 hwan (roughly $37 million) from 57 businessmen charged with building illegal fortunes during the previous regimes. This sum was some 35,000 million hwan or about 40% less than the combined total originally decided by the Committee. Chairman Lee explained that the lenient punishments were due to the "grave economic difficulties facing the nation and because fatal blows to the established business concerns would no doubt hinder economic reconstruction." On Sept. 16, 34 civil servants charged with illegal profiteering were ordered to return 7,200 million hwan and the Committee completed its first stage of investigation. But due to the new law guaranteeing secrecy of all uninscribed bank deposits, the authorities could hardly confiscate any cash.

Thunderclaps. Although the investigations ended in such trepidness, Chairman Lee was promoted to the post of Vice Chairman of the Supreme Council for the prompt execution of the probes and all the members of the Committee were given awards for their services. The recent arrest, therefore, must have fell on them like thunderclaps. The scandalous dealings that were going on between the investigators and the suspects were exposed by the younger officers of the army who no longer could toler the corruptive dealings. They hit back at the generals in order to shake up the attachment of the military leaders with the notorious profiteers.

Tie-up of Junta Leaders and Profiteers. Collaboration between the junta leaders and the profiteers is no longer a secret in Korea. Lee Pyung Chul, the richest profiteer who was ordered to return the biggest sum of $7.9 million, was sent by the military regime as ROK delegate to the International Industrial Conference held from Sept. 7 in San Francisco. He has also sat on various government conferences on financial policies. According to the September 24th Hankuk Ilbo of Seoul, foreign business sources is said to have recommended to the military government "not to kill the hen that lays golden eggs" and to this, Park Chung Hi is said to have replied that he "fully recognize the importance of the role which illicit profiteers are playing in ROK economy." So, under such circumstances, it seemed likely that the junta leaders could not restrain the embittered young officers of the army. It is quite possible that the junta leaders are now putting forth desperate efforts to prevent the fire from spreading to the Committee Chairman Lee but some reports say that he cannot avoid being purged from his high post. At any rate, the scandal is not only symbolic of the corruption in the armed forces but is also a clear sign of intra-military strife growing intense and the incident may be a turning point in the fast deteriorating situation in South Korea.

N. AND S. KOREA EXCHANGE APPEALS ON UNIFICATION

North and South Korea recently made clear their official stands on unification. Both sides exchanged appeals which took the form of appealing directly to the people over the head of the other government. As they show the strong undercurrent of the nation towards unification inspite of the sharp words exchanged, we have listed in the following pages the full texts of the Declaration on Unification issued by the 4th Congress of the North Korean Workers' Party and the Appeal sent by Park Chung Hi, Chairman of the ROK Supreme Council, to the North Korean people.

On September 11, Chairman Kim Il Sung of the Central Committee of the Korean Workers' Party, called on the South Korean people, in his report to the 4th Congress of the Workers' Party, "to rise in a nation-wide struggle to crush the U.S. imperialists and their agents in order to realize unification" and a lengthy Declaration in the same tenor was adopted and issued by the Congress on September 17.

In answer to this call, Chairman Park sent an appeal to the North Korean people and requested "the North Korean brethrens to trigger a heroic liberation struggle to run Kim Il Sung and his clique out of Korea and also crush the colonial rule by Soviet Russia and Communist China."

North Korea which had been actively endorsing unification kept silence on the question ever since the May 16th coup d'etat. In view of the anti-unification policies of the ROK military regime, the North Koreans appealed directly to the South Korean people. As to which is more sincere and earnest in the work for unification on a national basis can easily be seen in the following appeals.

Kim Il Sung, in his report, denounced the ROK military regime as "fascistic", to which, Park Chung Hi retaliated that Kim Il Sung was a "hound of Soviet imperialism." Such sharp words between the leaders do not mean that the unification mood has cooled down. It is true that the military regime in South Korea has become a stumbling block to unification. ROK militarists have arrested all the unification advocators and have already given death sentences to many leaders on charges that they collaborated with the Communists by advocating unification and North-South exchange. But,Koreans both home and abroad have hailed the victims as true national heroes and are working to save their lives. The militarists aim of putting a Red scare on the nation through the victimization of the unification leaders is bouncing back at them. The long-cherished national aspiration for unification which had reached great heights ever since the April Revolution cannot be strangled by any power. No matter what physical methods the militarists may contrive to terrorize the people, they cannot supress the just yearning nested deep in the heart of the nation.

The militarists should recall the real motives that forced the people to rise in the struggles of the April Revolution that erected an epoch-making milestone on the road to unification. Look what has happened to those rulers—Syngman Rhee and Chang Myun—who opposed unification! Suppression of the nation's just desires and true interests, is bound to bounce back at the oppressor. And the more hard suppressed, the stronger will be the nation's repulse. The yearning and the force of the Korean people toward peaceful unification will grow stronger with each ordeal.

DECLARATION
by N. KOREAN WORKERS' PARTY

Fellow countrymen, brothers and sisters of Korea! Laborers, farmers and intelligentsia! Youths and students! Businessmen and shopowners! Members of political and social organizations! Civil servants and armed forces men! And Korean brethrens living abroad! The 4th Congress of the Korean Workers' Party here appeal to you on the present situation of Korea and in regards to realization of the great and urgent task of unifying the fatherland.

Sixteen years have gone by since our country was divided and our nation spilt in two. We can no longer allow this abnormal state to continue. On account of the artificial walls, our country with a history of several thousand years cannot attain unified development and our nation with a culture from time immemorial and so full with brilliant talents cannot gain unified prosperity. The northern and southern parts of the same country are advancing along entirely different roads, politically, economically and socially and even the languages and customs of North and South Korean people are changing from one another. Members of the same family living within a hailing distance cannot see each other and a new generation which hasn't experienced a united Korea is comming up right behind us.

A firm foundation for a century's prosperity has been erected in the northern half of Korea. Still, we cannot deliver the South Korean people from the deep pits of bankruptcy and poverty they've fallen into on account of the artificial wall. The misfortunes and sufferings which our South Korean brethrens are undergoing have reached their limits. It is high time we should put an end to this intolerable situation.

The enthusiasm of the entire nation in quest for unification has become a powerful current irresistable by any force. The struggle between the Korean people fighting for unification and the U.S. imperialists obstructing the unification has become highly acute. The Korean people have built up a foundation for unification through difficult struggles to this day and revolutionary forces gave grown invincible. The great results attained by North Korea in its socialist development have definitely changed the balance of power between revolution and counter-revolution in favor of the revolutionary forces.

Encouraged by the powerful revolutionary base in North Korea, the people's struggle against the U.S. imperialists and for peaceful unification is gathering strength in South Korea. No longer able to toler the cruel administration enforced on them by the U.S. imperialists and their agents, the South Korean people rose in heroic uprisings April last year to gain a new government and a new life, overthrew the puppet Syngman Rhee regime and dealt a heavy blow on the aggressive policies of the U.S. imperialists.

The April Popular Uprisings became a turning point in the South Korean people's anti-U.S. imperialism struggle. Political consciousness of the South Korean people grew and from this point, the objective of the struggle became focused on U.S. imperialists. The U.S. imperialists singled out other puppets and deceived and suppressed the Korean people again. Nevertheless, the crumbling down of the basis of colonialism could not be stopped.

Peaceful unification of Korea took possession of the minds of South Koreans and the people's struggle for unification spread like a prairie fire. Confronted with ruin, the U.S. imperialists and South Korean reactionaries plunged themselves into the adventure of setting up a fascistic military dictatorship in order to maintain their rule.

Brutal terrorism enwraps the whole of South Korea today. Rigorous martial law is still in force for six months and the normal life of citizens is being brutally trampled on. All political and social organizations were disbanded and all the people's rights of assembly, demonstration and strike suspended. Many a press and publishing house were raided and closed and many a newspapermen cruelly persecuted and some were even brutally executed merely for the sake of writing a few articles on peaceful unification.

The U.S. imperialists and the military regime have arrested, imprisoned and massacred more than a hundred thousand innocent patriots during the past 3 or 4 months under the pretext of "anti-Communism." Exploitation and foraging on the people are intensifying. South Korea has been transformed into a dark land where every democratic freedom and right have been strangled; a people's slaughterhouse where terror and murder run awild and a hell where biting winds of hunger and poverty blow.

In order to intimidate the Korean people, U.S. imperialists have brought new weapons and reinforcements into South Korea. They have tightened compulsory recruitments on South Korean young men and through open military provocation, are intensifying tension in Korea. Driven to the walls, U.S. imperialists and reactionaries are desperately trying to maintain their colonial rule by suppressing the struggle of the South Korean people and are stepping up villainous maneuvering in order to obstruct peaceful unification of Korea. The South Korean people are thus thrown into unprecedented adversity wherein everything is suffocating at the points of atrocious bayonets and the people's struggle for unification and independence is being brutally suppressed.

South Korean people must now either rise to fight for freedom and liberation or succumb without doing anything. One cannot live any longer under such dark and miserable conditions. You must rise in a nation-wide struggle to crush the rekcless attack of the counter-revolutionaries. Struggle alone is the road for South Koreans to win freedom and liberation; to accomplish the great work of unification and to live freely and happily.

The emergence of fascistic terrorism in South Korea does not signify that the position of the U.S. imperialists has been strengthened but, contrarily, is a good sign that their position is weakening. It is the last desperate effort of those falling down to ruin. No matter what tool of suppression they may use, U.S. imperialists cannot subdue the unification-minded people and no matter what method may be contrived, they cannot salvage their colonial rule from falling down to eventual doom.

Fellow countrymen, brothers nad sisters of Korea! The Korean Workers' Party calls on you to rise in a nation-wide struggle for peaceful unification. You must first of all make the U.S. armed forces evacuate Korea and abolish the colonial rule set up by the U.S. imperialists. Occupation of South Korea by the U.S. imperialists and their aggressive policies are the chief obstacles hindering peaceful unification of Korea and democratic progress of South Korea. U.S. imperialism is the primary object of the South Korean people's struggle to turn the U.S. imperialists out of our soils and to accomplish unification of our country. South Korean people must rise to wipe out the political and economic domination by the U.S. imperialists. This is the prime task to resolve the life-or-death problem of South Koreans.

The cause of all the misfortunes and sufferings which South Koreans are experiencing is rooted in the U.S. occupation of South Korea. It is the U.S. imperialists that have forced South Korean economy into bankruptcy and collapse and thus plunged the people of South Korea into the pits of hardship. These U.S. imperialists have also made our brethrens shed bloods on our own soil and they are still scheming cruel massacres.

In the past, so many puppet regimes have

appeared in South Korea but were anything ever improved? There is no way left for the South Korean people to live unless the U.S. imperialists are turned out of Korea.

Unfold a nation-wide struggle against the U.S. imperialists and their agents. Deter and destroy all the maneuvers of the U.S. imperialists and rise throughout the country to fight through utilization of every means and methods in order to run them out of Korea. Workers must organize strikes and sabotages to paralyze the production and transport of U.S. military supplies; youths and students must reject compulsory recruitment and every one must oppose construction of U.S. military bases.

South Korean people must abolish all the servile and discriminating treaties and agreements between South Korea and U.S.; close down all aggressive U.S. organs and agencies as well as expel all the U.S. consultants from every field of South Korea. South Koreans must also reject economic pillaging by the U.S. imperialists and recover all the land and buildings seized by the Americans and also those precious assets of our countrymen.

The South Korean "national forces" must not become shameful tools of the U.S. imperialists who are suppressing the people's patriotic movements and invading Korea nor become tools of the reactionaries who will threaten the armed forces to fire on our parents, brothers and sisters. You must become armed forces of the people which will oppose the aggressive U.S. imperialists and their agents and safeguard the interests of soldiers, laborers, farmers and all other Koreans. You must also reject the U.S. command and recover the supreme command of the "national forces" and refuse any command or directions from the U.S. armed forces.

South Korean armed forces must firmly denounce the maneuvers of the U.S. imperialists and the reactionaries to incite another tragedy of brothers fighting against brothers in Korea through their fake propaganda about "Communist threats" and crush their war provoking intrigues. This fake story about "aggression from the north" is but a deceitful scheme to secure their colonial rule. There exists no enemy of the "national forces" in North Korea. Peoples of North and South Korea are fellow countrymen of the same nation. Although we may differ in ideology and political sentiments, there lies no reason why we cannot march hand in hand towards unification of the fatherland. And why should we fellow countrymen fight each other in combat? The U.S. imperialists are the ones thirsty for Korean blood. The U.S. imperialists are the common enemy of both the "national forces" of South Korea and the North Korean people. You must bravely stand by the people and rise in a courageous liberation struggle to throw the U.S. imperialists out and also wipe out colonialism from Korea.

All South Korean people must tenaciously fight to crush the war provoking intrigue of the U.S. imperialists. Every single soul with patriotic mind must join the ranks of the anti-U.S. imperialists struggle; denounce all flattering, acquiescent and shameful actions towards U.S. imperialists and perpetuate national integrity and purity. You must act patriotically so that you can appear before the nation free from being called a traitor. You must also refuse U.S. imperialists even a cup of water or a piece of bread and treat them in such a way that they can no longer stay in Korea. Let us unite to run all the Yankees out of our sacred fatherland.

In order to maintain their colonial rule in South Korea, the U.S. imperialists are now relying on the landed class and comprador capitalists. And under the protection of the U.S. imperialists, the landed class is exploiting and suppressing the farmers of South Korea while comprador capitalists are bringing in American commodities and capital, selling pillaged Korean materials to their masters in return and accumulating fortunes by procuring supplies for the South Korean armed forces

hired by the U.S.

In order to eliminate the foundations for aggression by the U.S. imperialists and to realize democratic development, the South Korean reactionaries must be crushed. Those traitors betraying the nation assisted by the U.S. imperialists, must be punished by strict trials in front of the people. South Koreans must denounce and destroy all the policies of the military regime which by its fascistic terrorism, is desparately trying to maintain the colonial rule of the U.S. imperialists and you must wipe out the dictatorship with fiery flames.

The freedoms of publication, press, assembly, association, demonstration, strike must be restored and free activities of political and social organizations recovered. Without free activities assured for political and social associations representing the interests of laborers, farmers and the masses at large, there can not be any true democracy. The want of a workers and peoples party caused the South Korean people to fail in their past struggles inspite of the vast sacrifices.

The South Korean people must single out their lessons from their bitter experiences of the past and fight to get free activities for revolutionary workers and peoples party legalized. You must also demand rights for free labor and farm movements and struggle to terminate the brutal terorism being committed against the people and immediately release all the patriots and innocent citizens under arrest.

South Korean people must fight to win democratic freedoms and rights to enforce democratic reforms. Solution of the land problem is one of the most important tasks to democratize South Korea. Enforcement of democratic land reforms alone can liberate South Korean farmers who occupy an overwhelming majority of the population, from feudalistic exploitation and, at the same time, raise the agricultural production. Land should be owned by the farmer who tills it. Farmers of South Korea must unite and form farmers' committees, confiscate those lands possessed by landlords and traitors and redistribute them. Farmers must also reject foraging of land and grains; refuse payment of all miscellaneous heavy taxes, high interest debts and all other liabilities and rise to gain relief for all the famishing farmers and also for those who have sold out. Raise high your combat flags throughout South Korea; repulse the maneuvers of the U.S. imperialists and landowners and win the lands and freedom as well.

Development of a self-sustaining national economy and welfare of the nation cannot be boosted until national industries are developed. South Koreans must trigger struggles to confiscate and nationalize all the plants, mines, railways, transportation facilities and banks owned by the U.S. imperialists, comprador capitalists and pro-American national traitors and also demand protective and development measures for medium and small industries.

Workers of South Korea must fight to gain an 8 hours work day for all laborers and clerks; establishment of social insurances and guarantee of a minimum wage sufficient for living. Workers must also demand job recommendations for the enemployed, elimination of unstable job contracts and refuse payments of all taxes which exploit on the sweats of the working class.

Scientists, literary men and artists of South Korea must rise to fight against penetration of reactionary American culture and demand free academic pursuits, free scientific, literary and artistic activities and also win guarantee of material conditions necessary for those activities.

Youths, students and all South Koreans must fight for enforcement of a democratic education system and win democratization of schools as well as full employment for new graduates.

South Korean women must rise to liberate themselves from the humiliating status of being maltreated and despised, and to win equal rights as men and also demand state protection for mothers and

children.

The Korean people have a glorious tradition of always fighting courageously against constant foreign aggressions. In the past, Korean patriots, by crawling through the thickets of Bekdu Mt. and mounting the craggy slopes of Changbek, overcame all difficulties and fought to liberate Korea from the buglar Japanese imperialism. Our patriots rose in many struggles like the March 1st and June 10th Uprisings and shuddered the Japanese imperialists. Our history is abundant in struggles by workers, peasants, youths and students. We can recall such heroic uprisings as the Kabo Peasants War and the Kwangchou Students Incident. Last year, the South Korean people fought courageously against the U.S. imperialists and their agents and finally crushed the Syngman Rhee regime at one blow. Let us unfold an indomitable struggle in this glorious tradition and noble revolutionary spirit to realize peaceful unification of our fatherland.

Peaceful unification of Korea must be realized through the formula of first getting the U.S. armed forces out of Korea and then by establishing a unified government through all-Korea free general elections based on democratic procedures and free of foreign interference. The "seperate elections" enforced in South Korea were but deceitful schemes of the U.S. imperialists aimed at perpetuating the division of Korea and legalizing their colonial rule. Those elections reduced South Korea to pitiful shambles. South Koreans must crush all the "election plays" directed by the U.S. imperialists and their agents and fight to establish a unified government representing the will of the entire Korean people, expressed through all-Korea free general elections. By establishing a unified government alone will the South Korean people be delivered from their present living hell and thus be able to attain happiness and a free life. The elections shall be executed in a free atmosphere wherein the people can fully express their own will. For that, evacuation of U.S. armed forces and elimination of all foreign interferences are pre-requisite. Prior to the elections, democratic freedom and rights of the people must be guaranteed and all political and social organizations and individuals must be given full freedom to perform political activities at any place throughout Korea. The elections must also be universal and equal as well as democratic fully guaranteeing the secrecy of ballot.

In order to realize peaceful unification of Korea, all South Korean patriots must form a united anti-imperialist front to unfold organized struggle against the U.S. imperialists and their agents and every Korean must work to strenthen the solidarity.

The labor class of South Korea must tighten their united front; boost their roles as front guards of the anti-imperialist struggle; strengthen the alliance between workers and farmers; accumulate all the forces of the nation excluding the reactionaries and march against the U.S. imperialists. Unity is the really powerful weapon for revolutionary struggles of the masses and this weapon shall strengthen our powers infinitely. We must unite in order to win and must go on strengthening our unity.

We will advance hand in hand with each and every soul irrespective of his past records, differences in class or social position, political view or religious belief, as long as he is willing to rise to fight for peaceful unification. We will also welcome those who have committed crimes as long as they shall repent their mistakes and rise for the cause of peaceful unification and let them march on with us after unification is achieved. Every one who sets value on Korea and the Korean nation should rise without a moment's hesitation in the fight against the U.S. imperialists.

Today, the flames of anti-imperialist national liberation struggles by peoples held in colonial and servile state in quest of freedom and independence are blazing

throughout the world where the imperialists still keep their footholds. The aggressive policies of the imperialists are failing in all quarters and the colonial structures are getting shattered to pieces. The annihilation of colonialism has become the irresistible current of the times. And why should we Koreans with so old a history and culture from time immemorial and so rich with patriotism, allow the U.S. imperialists go on invading us?

The situation in Korea, however, is changing decisively in favor of the Korean people. An impregnable base for national liberation and a foundation for eternal national prosperity has been built up in North Korea. The remnants of past colonialism has been completely destroyed; an advanced socialist system firmly established and firm basis for a self-sustaining national economy completed. Powerful modern manufacturing industries envisaging a hundred years progress has been constructed and a scientific agriculture free of lean years has been developed. The revolutionary base in North Korea confronting the aggressive forces of the U.S. imperialists stands dauntlessly there like a resolute fortress ensuring freedom, independence and a new life for the Korean nation. Everything needed for rehabilitation and development of South Korean economy and culture as well as for the prosperity of a unified Korea is prepared there. The vast powers of the North Korean revolutionary base firmly promise a bright future for the Korean nation and are ringing the knell of the U.S. imperialists.

Our struggle for peaceful unification is being given active support and encouragement from progressive forces of the world. Our struggle is undergoing turns and twists but the time for unification is ripening each day. Let us solidify our unity and fight courageously on! Then shall U.S. imperialists be compelled to evacuate Korea and the great work of unification will be accomplished!

Fellow countrymen, brothers and sisters of all Korea! Rise together in answer to this call of the Korean Workers' Party!

The future of the fatherland lies in the hands of the Korean people. The main forces to develop the country are the Korean people. No enemy can ever put down the blazing will of the people desiring to live lovingly embraced by the warm breasts of the nation. Eventual doom alone awaits the U.S. imperialists. Let us march on in order to bring forth an early dawn of the great day of unification which will mark a glorious epoch in our history; and freedom and happiness for ourselves and prosperity for our children. Hurrah for unification and solidarity of the Korean people!

PARK CHUNG HI'S APPEAL TO N. KOREANS

I wish to send this address to my fellow countrymen of North Korea who are suffering under the most terrifying government unheard of in the history of mankind.

Fellow countrymen of North Korea! 17 years have already gone by since our nation was cut loose from the cruel chains of Japanese colonial rule. We had welcomed the liberation with great expectations after so much bloody struggle for freedom and independence but the irony of fate made our nation to live divided through all these 17 years and we cannot foresee how many years more we shall have to live under such intolerable endearment and suffering.

Whenever we recall this intolerable reality, we always ponder on the two causes that have brought about this tragedy and misfortune. The first cause obviously lies in the nation itself. Koreans would have succeeded in building up a unified and independent government had we been united under a powerful national consciousness and won liberation by the nation's own powers by running out the Japanese imperialists and if we had not become spiritual slaves to foreign isms and thoughts during the chaotic period following the liberation. Korea lost her chance for unification and independence at this crucial time because of the underdeveloped state of the nation and also because of the propagandistic and destructive conspiracy of the Communists who consider Russia their masters and are so chauvinistic to the communist system. The second cause lies in the Soviet Russia's imperialistic policy to divide and occupy Korea.

At the meetings of the U.S.-Soviet Joint Commission held in the spring of 1946, Soviet Russia frustrated the establishment of a unified Korean government by adhering to an undemocratic proposal to exclude from participation in the formation of a central government such political and social organizations as had opposed the terms of the Tri-Power Moscow Agreement, thus deliberately broke up the Joint Commission and perpetuated the division of Korea and communization of North Korea.

At this time, all ROK democratic parties opposed the Moscow Agreement which decided on a 5-year trusteeship plan for Korea, on grounds that the decision impaired the pride and aspiration of the nation to gain an immediate unification and independence. In contrast to this, the Communists who blindly follow Soviet directives, dared to act as hounds of Soviet imperialism.

During these 17 years, North Koreans were forced to consider Soviet Russia their fatherland, revere the Kremlin their masters and were oppressed and driven on by the few top North Korean Communists led by Kim Il Sung. North Koreans of today have lost their national consciousness due to the brain-washing performed on them by the hounds of Kremlin and their aspiration for freedom has been strangled by thorough suppression.

Fellow countrymen of North Korea who have long been made to support Communism and revere Soviet Russia and Kim Il Sung, have never as yet enjoyed the freedoms of speech, assembly, association thoughts and science, nor have been allowed freedoms of residence, communications or travel. The thorough confiscation of private properties have taken lands up from farmers and degraded the nation down to the state of slaves of a socialist system.

The "flying horse" movement now being unfolded under the slogan of "advancing at the pace of the horse that runs three hundred miles a day", is imposing unbearable pains and cruel labor on the North

Korean brethrens. Although Kim Il Sung is propagating that this "flying horse" movement is a drive to transform agricultural North Korea into a socialist industrial nation, we can easily see that, in truth, the movement is but a desperate effort to boost the war potential of North Korea at the expense of the nation's livelihood.

North Korean brethrens, note that this "flying horse" movement is one of the most brutal ruling methods typical to the Communists. It is the North Korean people that shall run the deadly three hundred miles each day while Kim Il Sung and his clique will be riding on your backs and the direction headed will be war and destruction wherein brothers shall fight brothers.

Whenever we think of the state of North Koreans being sacrificed for the sake of the policies of Kim Il Sung and his clique who are serving as hounds for Soviet imperialism scheming to communize the world, we not only sympathize with your lot but are also enfuriated, on which account we are renewing our determination and preparations to realize unification by crushing Communism.

Dear brethrens of North Korea! South Korea which must make itself the central force to build our fatherland into a free, democratic, unified and independent state, is now ready for great reconstruction and leaps forward. Throughout the 17 years' history of South Korea since liberation. South Koreans have continued endless struggle for freedom and have proven the greatness of the nation's powers.

The Liberal regime had trampled on the freedom and equal rights of the people taking advantage of the immaturity of the nation, but was overthrown at last when the nation became fully conscious of its own powers. The Democrat Party had fought beside the nation but once it became the ruling party, it too betrayed the nation with excessive factional strifes, inefficiency and corruption.

As the confusion mounted due to intense subversive activities by the Communist agents, the officers and men of the national forces rose in answer to the nation's call and encouragement and we are now marching in the national reconstruction work to establish social justice, to strengthen the foundations of free and equal democracy and to improve the national economy. In the spring from two years from now, free and fair elections will be held in South Korea to establish a new and strong government.

These transformations in South Korea are proofs of constant progress towards greater freedom and more secure happiness. We have clearly shown that the fundamental rights and freedom to elect a government coinciding with the will and interests of the nation has been insured.

North Korean brethrens and men of the People's Army! You must win a new government coninciding with your will and interests by courageously rejecting the colonial rule of Soviet and Communist Chinese imperialism and crushing Kim Il Sung and his clique, recalling the courage and heroic struggle of South Koreans.

You must also establish a new society in North Korea wherein fundamental rights will be assured and political and economic freedom guaranteed. This is a prerequisite to unification. As long as North Koreans are kept in slavery under the Russians and Chinese and as long as Kim Il Sung and his clique who have deprived the people's freedom and rights, reign over North Korea, peaceful North-South exchange along with all-Korea free general elections will be no more than a deceitful propaganda scheme.

North Korean brethrens! How can there be North-South exchange when freedoms of residence, communications, travel, speech, thoughts and association are not allowed within North Korea itself? And how can all-Korea free general elections be possible when the right to establish government through free elections is not recognized within North Korea itself?

The only way by which to bring forth

an early dawn of the day on which brethrens of North and South Korea shall live friendly and happily under a single roof as a united nation is for you North Koreans and men of the People's Army to bravely rise like we did in South Korea and trigger a heroic liberation struggle to run Kim Il Sung and his clique out of Korea to Russia and also crush the colonial rule by Soviet Russia and Communist China.

We especially place trust in the national consciousness, sense of justice and yearning for freedom which the officers and men of the North Korean People's Army possess and look forward for you to rise like we did.

Dear brethrens of North Korea ! To be liberated from poverty, hunger, ignorance, deseases and fear and to build a free society are our firm and unchanging objectives. South Korea has now accumulated and secured the basic capacity to realize these tasks not through the compulsion by the state but by the nations own voluntary powers. This is the basic difference between North and South Korea.

A society like North Korea which has been ruled from above is weak at the base of its structure. Before long, South Korea will complete construction of a welfare state, free from poverty, hunger, ignorance, deseases and fear by the nations own powers and through the rational and efficient guidance of the revolutionary government. The progress and strengthening of the nation's capacity in South Korea is the unique hope in realizing a free, unified Korea and also will be its spiritual backbone.

Along with the growth of the capacity of South Koreans, the anti-Soviet unification struggle by North Koreans will be the decisive factor in advancing the unification of Korea and strengthening the democratic front.

Brethrens of North Korea! On this day of October 10 when our nation was founded by Tangun four thousand years ago, I am sending this address to you in the name of my country and nation with hopes that the day of unification will come early, requesting that you will rise for freedom and also giving my pledeges to prepare for that day.

Judges and Murderer Shake Hands

One does not ever shake hands with a murderer. Less a judge. Believe it or not, such actually happened in the Higher ROK Army Tribunal in Seoul.

The murderer was Lt. Gen. Won Yong-Duk, former Joint Provost Marshal General, who was being tried for slaying wartime Governor Kim Sung-Ju. The judges were of a five-man panel headed by Army Vice Chief of Staff Chang Chang-Kook.

According to the September 15 Seoul Shinmoon, the event occurred on Sept. 14, the day on which the prosecution demanded the penalty on Won. Gen. Won, ex-henchmen of Syngman Rhee, pleaded to the court to be given a secret session in order to testify. The court admitted his plea, and all the spectators went out of the courtroom. When the spectators returned to their seats after an hour and ten minutes, they were astonished to find Won now sitting deeply in a comfortable sofa, but were literally astounded when Gen. Won like a lightening rose from his chair, ran up to the panel and shook hands with all of the five military judges. The presiding judge who had just pronounced completion of the hearings on Won's trial is said to have even smiled.

One enfuriated spectator said: "The trial's rigged." And skeptics were convinced of the fishiness, when Gen. Won, although found guilty of the murder was given only 15 years in comparison to the life imprisonment demanded by the prosecution.

Now compare this to the tria's of those patriots who are being given death sentences just for the sake of promoting unification of the fatherland!

NEWS OF THE MONTH Sept. 16 to Oct. 20

Fourth Congress of the North Korean Workers' Party

The 1st session of the Fourth Congress of the Korean Workers' Party was held from September 11 to 18 at Pyongyang. On the opening day, Chairman Kim Il Sung of the Party Central Committee made a lengthy report on the past activities of the Committee and summed up the great changes and progress North Korea has undergone during the five years between the Third Congress held in April, 1956 and the Fourth Congress. Chairman Kim also called on the South Korean people to rise anew in fight against the military regime and the U.S. imperialists in order to bring about unification of Korea. As results of elections on the final day, new line-up of the Central Committee became: Kim Il Sung, Choi Yong Keon, Kim Il, Park Keum Cheol, Kim Chang Man, Ree Heo Sun, Park Jong Eh, Kim Kwan Yeop, Chung Il Yong, Nam Il and Ree Jong Ock.

78-year-old Progressive Given 5 Years

On Oct. 4, Chang Kim-Sang, 78-year-old well-known progressive was sentenced to five years in prison on charges of helping the North Korean Communist regime. Chang was the chairman of the defunct Reformist Party, arrested immediately after the coup and put on trial a fortnight ago. Five other officers of the party were also given prison terms ranging from 5 to 15 years. They were all found guilty of publicly recommending unification of the country as a permanent neutral nation and having supported the idea of economic and cultural exchange between North and South Korea.

New ROK Foreign Minister Appointed

On Oct. 11, retired army Lt. Gen. Choi Duk-Shin was named as new ROK Foreign Minister. The post had been held concurrently by Premier Song Yo-Chan. Vice Foreign Minister Pak Tong-Chin was replaced by Lee Won-Kyung who was chief protocol officer of the foreign ministry and Pak was named an ambassador assigned to the ministry. The Minister Choi is 47 years old, had studied at a Chinese military academy and graduated from the ROK Military Academy in 1949. After retiring from the army at the rank of lt. general, he was despatched as minister to Vietnam in 1956 and became Ambassador to Vietnam and Thailand in 1958.

Park Speaks on U.S. Tour

On Oct. 18, Park Chung-Hi, Chairman of the Supreme Council for National Reconstruction, said at a press conference that he will discuss with U.S. President Kennedy how to strengthen and maintain Korean armed forces in an attempt to build up stronger bastions and security in Northeast Asia. Park who is scheduled to arrive in Washington on Nov. 14, revealed that U.S. economic aid programs for aids to Korea will also be discussed and predicted broad prospects for U.S. aids to Korea. In relation to questions on government turnover, he replied that he does not think it necessary to formulate a interim government to manage the forthcoming general elections in 1963 and asserted that the military government will be capable enough to carry out the task of handling the elections.